000 swampy valleys. Acrid smoke fills the entire hut. Add to all
362 this several adults, some of whom in many cases may be smoking tobacco, half a dozen children, a few goats, dogs, and chickens, and if during bad weather or at night the only
[136] opening of the hut is closed and the rats, which are to be found in every hut, [25] begin their sport, it is easy to imagine how refreshing it is for any non-Murundi to stay in such a hut.

252 Cooking (kuteka) in and outside the hut is the business of
[462] the wife, assisted, if necessary, by the children. A man will cook only if he has to, for example, while traveling. The
415 only cooking utensil used is the earthen cooking pot (inkono), made by the Batwa potters (see p. 78) or by women who have mastered the art of pottery (Plate 48). Large earthenware pots (imiwindi) with a capacity of up to 20 liters serve as water containers and for preserving pombe beer. Wooden bowls or pumpkin shells are used as ladles. Milk is kept in carved wooden vessels (iwango), generally of unwieldy shape. As among the
[251] Banjaruanda, they are rinsed with cow urine each time before being filled so as to preserve the milk better. Butter, which is
[234] never eaten but used only for rubbing the body, is produced by
[302] shaking the curdled milk in large bottle gourds, and it is always in a half liquid state. The large earthenware vessels all have a round bottom and stand on the ground of the hut, propped up by stones, while various wooden and gourd vessels (ubwato, akako) stand between the latticework of the walls or are suspended in wide-meshed nets. The wooden milk vessels are placed on a bench-like frame near the fireplace along the wall. There are no spoons, only wooden ladles which are often nicely decorated
● [531] with carved linear designs. The boiling mush is stirred with a broad wooden spatula ("matchstick") (No. 1 of Plate 46), and when the meal is ready, it is heaped on shallow wooden or
264 woven bowls. In the customary fashion of Negroes it is then formed into little lumps with one's fingers, dipped into one of the boiled herb sauces, and pushed into the mouth.

252 In front of every house there is a wooden mortar (isekuro),
243 shaped either like a cylinder or an hourglass. In this the women
[412] separate the grain from the husks and panicles, or in other words "thresh," by means of a wooden pestle which they pound rhythmically in turn.

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Fig. 6. Knife for Tattooing and Bloodletting.
(Ethnological Museum, Berlin. No. 6543a.)

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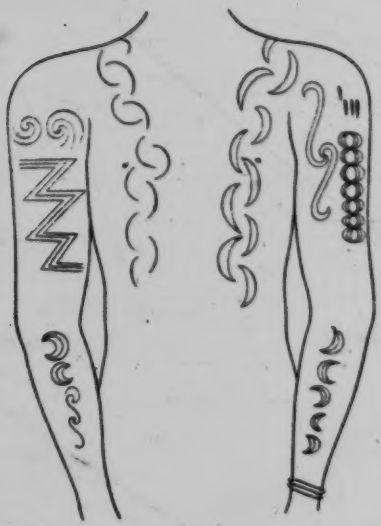

Fig. 7. Scar Tattooing of a Murundi.
(Sketch by Hans Meyer.)

439 of officials and military men. The natives eagerly snatch it up.
177 Yet at the time of King Kisabo the chiefs strictly banned the wearing of cotton material for they suspected quite rightly that, together with the foreign merchants and goods, other influences would soon be introduced which might undermine their sovereignty.

291 Apart from the bark material which predominates, goat skins (ikikoba, urusato) are also worn as loincloths, with the fur side inward; they are the only clothing for children, poor people, and mostly for the Batwa also (Plate 7). In northeastern Urundi, in the Bugufi district, hide cloaks are worn more often than those made from bark (No. 8, p. 61). All over Urundi the [854] women, in addition to the loincloth of hide or bark material, around the upper part of the body wear a quadrilateral piece of hide or bark material, tied in a knot at the shoulder; it is used to carry the youngest child on the back. The men wear a larger, toga-like garment, held up by a knot at the shoulders and falling down over the knees. The knots at the shoulders are often decorated with a few large tassels of dry banana bast which look like gigantic major's epaulets (Plate 11a, 14a).

287 Barkcloth (impusu) -- Stuhlmann calls it "bast felt" (No.
386 32a, p. 35) -- has an advantage over hide and cotton materials in that it is very light, warm, and permeable, but its production requires work, and since it frays out after longer wear, it soon becomes full of holes and frayed and looks very shabby (Plates 9, 13a). Add to this the usually very dismal, dark gray color. By nature it is brown. In a very few cases it is dyed red with laterite or plant juices (for mourning), or it is decorated with [531] black designs shaped like spindles, leaves, or circles against its natural reddish-brown background. Usually it is dyed a dark gray with wood ashes, argillite, or mud from the swamps, and then it is a deplorable sight. When a large number of people dressed in this manner happen to stand together in a crowd, the many black-clothed figures, [31] combined with the smooth-shaven skulls and flashing spears which are carried by everyone, form a very impressive total picture of great somberness. We again find this simple method of dyeing in Unjoro, the most northerly area to which the Bahima extend; Vandeleur writes

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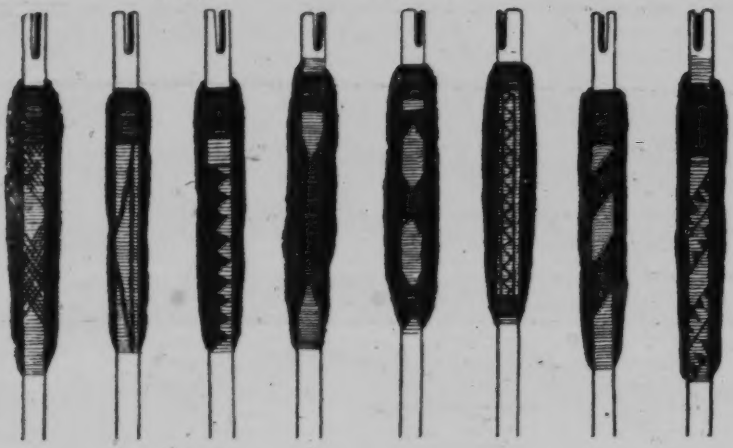

Fig. 8. Plaited Patterns on Feathering of Arrows.
(Ethnological Museum, Berlin, No. 5274.)

2: Meyer--49A K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

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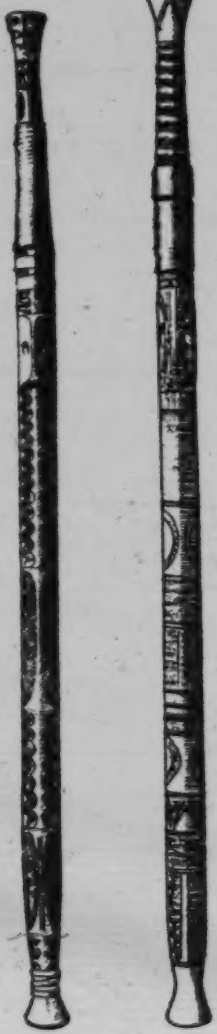

Fig. 9. Knives with Decorated Wooden Sheaths.
(Ethnological Museum, Berlin, Nos.
2466, 3881.)

412 (uruwati) made of two thin boards held together by several
411 wrappings. In the same manner as the quiver, the sheath is often
[531] decorated with carved crescents or zigzag patterns (Fig. 9).
The knives are often carried by a strap running from the right shoulder to the left hip, like a shoulder belt. The much smaller
412 knives, 10 to 15 centimeters [35] long, which are found more often and which are of the same shape and used for smaller carving jobs, are either worn on a string around the neck or over the left upper arm. Only in western Lower Urundi on Lake
[177] Tanganyika can we find knives with fine copper wire nicely wound around them; there they are due to Congo influence and are produced by Wawira [Bira] blacksmiths (No. 19, 133).
[326] In Upper Urundi proper, the Bahutu and especially the Batwa blacksmiths are the suppliers of knives.

411 Fighting clubs (uwuhiri) which were once generally used all over the region have become rather rare in Urundi; as among the Massai and the Wadschagga [Chagga] these former weapons have been degraded into a show piece or toy of the men. They consist of a beautifully planed piece of hardwood, about one third of a meter in length, which at the end has been carved into three or four edges and at the handle end is slightly thickened.

411 Shields (ingabo) are much more rare. They have com-
554 pletely lost their importance as a weapon of defense and, as in Ruanda, they have become merely the emblem of a chief or of a family (perhaps the escutcheon of a clan) (Plate 44). The king possesses several shields and each chief and his bodyguards have one each which are painted differently. The Batwa do not have any shields and are not allowed to carry any. The round shield, up to one half meter in diameter, is carved of wood it has a wooden grip and is painted with white and red segments of circles of various types. There are also shields which have reeds plaited around them (see pp. 80-81 and Plate 53) and others of identical shape made of cowhide which occur even more rarely. The same shape and ornamentation of the wooden shields and quivers recur both among the northern Bahima in Ruanda and among the southern ones in Ufipa (cf. illustration in No. 47, p. 76).

2: Meyer--92A K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

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Fig. 14. Containers for Suction Tubes for Drinking Beer.
(Ethnological Museum, Berlin, No. 4875, 6391, 6652.)

323 of the slate districts of Urundi and Ruanda where good pottery clay (uwumba) has formed from decomposed or alluvial slate. In most cases its color ranges from dark gray to black. Thus it happens that entire potters' villages are built at such sites, a process which has been, and still is, greatly facilitated by the caste separation the pariah-like Batwa.

The clay is dug by the men, kneaded with water, and beaten with a club until it has been freed of rough particles and becomes pliable. A small, round clod of clay which has been somewhat flattened with the hand is placed on a piece of a broken pot which serves as a foundation. A sausage-like ring of clay is superimposed around the edge so as to make a kind of bowl (Plate 7b). Adding superimposed long rings of clay is then repeated. The joints are filled in and smoothed out with a moist hand. All the time the whole thing is constantly turned around on the broken piece (urudsjo) under it (a primitive potter's wheel). While it is turning, the object is polished with the hand and water is sprinkled on it until the pot attains the desired size and shape. The rim is then evened off with a tree leaf. The real finishing, inside and out, is undertaken only after the vessel has dried somewhat in the air. For this purpose a piece of calabash, a small piece of wood, a piece of bark, or a little flat stone is used. Finally, simple linear 323 decorations (wavy lines or zigzag rows of short lines) are 531 scratched below the neck of the vessel with a pointed piece of wood or iron. No figures are scratched on the surface, nor are the pots dyed or even glazed. Van der Burgt believes that the wavy and zigzag lines of the decorations are supposed to be mysterious symbols for the "lightning of Imana," the highest god, which might be regarded as "a kind of hieroglyphic writing" (No. 19, p. 452). I do not believe that the potters are so profound, and I regard the patterns as a purely mechanical expression of the desire for ornamentation. The Barundi and Batwa themselves also assured me that these patterns had no deeper meaning. Clay pots of the European Stone Age show the same simple decoration which is determined purely by primitive techniques.

285 lidded baskets, long narrow containers for tubes to suck beer,
415 very large baskets with lids which are used as traveling trunks, meal winnowers, plates, grain sacks, sometimes even quivers for arrows, and other things. Very occasionally [80] simple
[531] linear patterns are produced by interlacing strips of bast dyed black. In Urundi this weaving technique is exclusively prac-
[462] ticed by women; only the large flat meal winnowers are manufactured by men (No. 19, p. 577), presumably because they
[237] are calked with cow dung, a product of cattle which women can
[784] have nothing to do with as a matter of principle.

285 The coiling technique is used for making basketry with long, thin, straw or bast rolls, with thread wrapped round them (similar to the beehives of our peasants). These rolls are laid in spiral fashion on top of each other and are tightly fitted by the bast string tied around them; for this reason this is also referred to as the spiral-technique (Plate 50). It is used for producing baskets and bowls with walls which are thicker and more resistant to shock and pressure than those manufactured by the weaving technique. The spiral technique is also employed in making
[415] waterproof cups, the long pointed lids of the gourd bottles used
[482] for beer, and the often very pretty wreath-shaped rings used for
[462] keeping vessels in an upright position and for carrying burdens on the head. This technique is also only practiced by women.
285 Stuhlmann assumes that it is of Hamitic origin (No. 32a, p. 44).
171 This would account for its general geographic distribution and for the high stage of development to which it has been brought in the Batussi states. F. von Luschan also points out that this technique is characteristic of Hamitic tribes or tribes under Hamitic influence, ranging from the Somali to the Ovambo [Ambo] (No. 40, p. 252).

286 Finally we wish to mention the carrying nets which are
352 made of intertwined bast strings simply tied together crosswise. They are hung inside the huts to hold calabashes and other objects (Plate 51). The Barundi could not do without these nets, for even inside the huts plaited work cannot be left standing on the floor since it would be eaten by the termites.

286 The Lake Barundi of the Tanganyika district plait fishing
177 nets with either a wide or narrow mesh in a similar fashion, but

322 412 The Barundi do not have a special tool for wood carving, only the two small chopping knives, the sickle-shaped, long-handled cutting knife (Plate 46, No. 4) with which we are already familiar from the discussion of agriculture (p. 49), and the short and long knives which are used for all kinds of daily jobs (Fig. 16). To round and smooth spear shafts, a small piece of wood is stuck on a small double-edged knife, at an angle. Then the knife is moved back and forth along the shaft until the wood has been scraped and given the desired shape. The wooden arm discs, after having been cut from a block of wood, are shaved with a knife and polished with fig leaves (which are probably flinty) until they have the elegant, mathematically correct shape and smooth surface which we admire in them.

[Fig. 16 appears here in the original text.]

The simple parallel linear decorations which are occasionally seen on wooden utensils and calabashes are seldom carved [531] but generally burnt in by a kind of poker-work. For this purpose small notches are made in an old knife or spear point so that several tooth-like points are formed. This iron is made red-hot and then passed over the wood; its points burn a number of absolutely parallel lines into the surface (No. 19, p. 367). Apart from this, saws for cutting wood are as unknown as drills and nails. Because of this, holes are also made in wood by means of red-hot iron. As everywhere else in East Africa where saws are not available, boards or beams are carved from thick logs by chopping and cutting chips and splinters from both sides of the block until a board of the desired thickness remains. For this reason the traveler in these regions can hardly present the chiefs with a more welcome gift than a sturdy handsaw, a hand-drill, hammers, iron nails, and other tools.

322 532 Nowhere in Urundi or Ruanda did I see either human or animal figures scratched or cut into the surface of wood or carved from wood. Only among the Barundi on Lake Tanganyika does one find carved wooden figures, an art which was introduced from the Congo region. Finally, the decorations found [177] 322 531 on many -- not all -- of the wooden [82] hand discs deserve to be mentioned. They are inlaid with iron, copper or brass spirals,

[Text continues on page 124]

531 angular or round pieces of foil and pins (Plates 34 and 35).
322 Occasionally their entire surface is almost completely covered with such thin metal inlays. They are attached to the surface by scratching the outlines of the metal pieces into the wood, then hollowing out the area within these outlines, filling it with wax, and, finally, pressing in the spirals and metal foils. There are only a few artists who master this technique. In Ruanda such metal inlays are seen on only a few hand discs and on the horns worn around the neck as part of the dancing costume. There the inlays consist of strips of zinc and lead.

396 The biggest carved object of the Barundi and the one most difficult to make is the boat, the dugout (ubwato). As we have seen above (p. 73), dugouts are rare in this almost treeless country, and their use is confined to a few of the larger rivers and to Lake Tanganyika and the Ruzizi River. Dugouts are ordered and paid for by chiefs who are in need of a boat for ferrying purposes in their district or by families engaged in fishing who can afford the expense. The Batwa are the best boat builders; the technique is a specialty of theirs (No. 19, p. 367). The two instruments used in the construction are a [412] chopping knife whose blade is set at an angle and whose handle is gripped with both hands and an ax with a short handle. The tree -- the thicker and straighter the better -- is felled by thousands of blows. The bark is then removed with axes, and the log is first hewn roughly to the desired length and thickness of the boat. Then it is given its external shape: the bulging sides, the round bottom without a keel, and the somewhat pointed bow and stern. Finally the inner trough is hollowed out. This, too, is done solely with axes and knives. In other regions of East Africa this is accomplished by starting small fires on the upper side of the tree trunk. These fires gradually eat their way into the trunk, and the charred parts are scraped out until only the hull remains. According to their own testimony, the Barundi do not know this technique. After the job is more or less done, the boat, before being launched, is filled with water in order to test whether it is waterproof. After all the cracks have been calked, the dugout is pushed and pulled into the water with the participation of a festive and noisy crowd.

Plate 37

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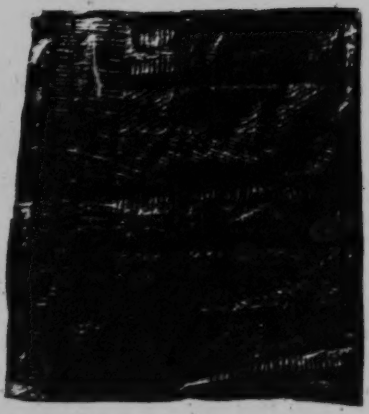

Barkcloth and Bark Hammer.

No. 1) Upper garment of fig barkcloth with bast ribbons, 100 centimeters wide; Ethnological Museum, Leipzig. – No. 2) Painted mat of fig barkcloth, 98 centimeters wide; Ethnological Museum, Leipzig. – No. 3) Wooden hammer for pounding fig bark, 42 centimeters long; Ethnological Museum, Berlin.

Plate 42

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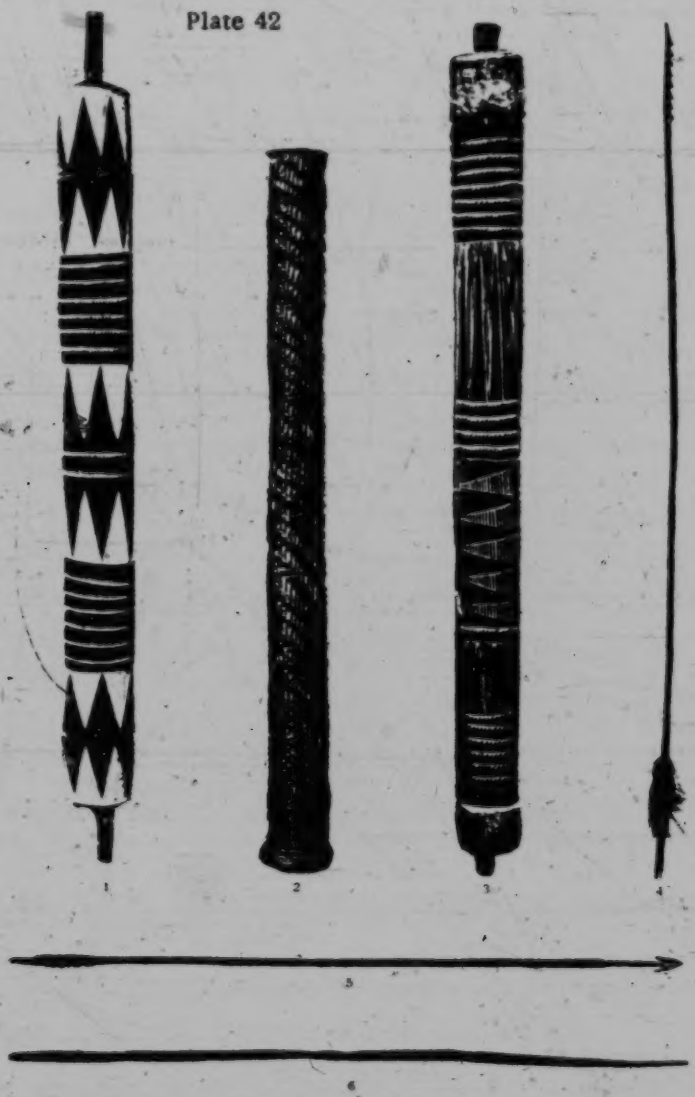

Quivers and Arrows; Ethnological Museum, Leipzig. No. 1) Carved of wood, 110 centimeters; No. 2) Plaited of reed, 90 centimeters; No. 3) Carved of wood, 97 centimeters; No. 4) With serrated wooden point, 95 centimeters; No. 5) With iron point, 92 centimeters; No. 6) With smooth wooden point, 95 centimeters.

2: Meyer--278 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

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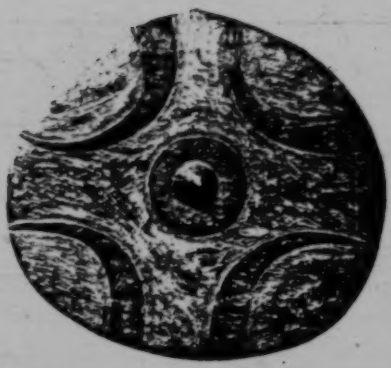
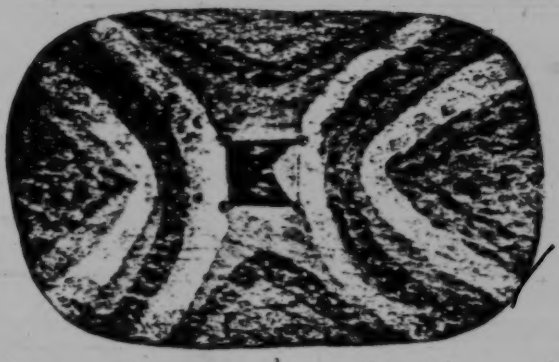
Plate 44





Painted Wooden Shields; Ethnological Museum, Leipzig.

No. 1) 60 centimeters high; No. 2) 85 centimeters high; No. 3) 80 centimeters high.

2: Meyer--282 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

Plate 48

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Earthenware Pots.

Nos. 1, 2, 3) Earthenware vessels for liquids, 18 to 20 centimeters high; Ethnological Museum, Berlin. — Nos. 4, 5, 6) Earthenware cooking pots, 14 to 22 centimeters high; Ethnological Museum, Leipzig.

2: Meyer--284 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

Plate 50

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Baskets and Plates for Grain, Flour, etc., Woven of Straw; Ethnological Museum, Leipzig.

No. 1) 20 centimeters high; No. 2) 23 centimeters high; No. 3) 21 centimeters high; No. 4) 60 centimeters high; No. 5) 19 centimeters in diameter; No. 6) 28 centimeters in diameter

2: Meyer--286 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

Plate 52

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Household Utensils of Wood and Gourds; Ethnological Museum, Leipzig.

No. 1) Wooden bowl for grain, flour, etc., 35 centimeters long; No. 2) Decorated bottle gourd for milk, 12 centimeters high; No. 3) Decorated bottle gourd, 16 centimeters high; No. 4) Wooden vessel for butter, 20 centimeters high.

2: Meyer--289 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

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[531]

Neck Ornaments and Amulets Filled with "Medicine."

Nos. 1, 4) Goat horns, pieces of bone, wooden sticks, 16 and 20 centimeters wide; Ethnological Museum, Leipzig. – Nos. 2, 3) Carved cattle horns, 9 and 10 centimeters long; Ethnological Museum, Berlin.

323 making baskets, thus forming the lower part of the pot. The rolls of clay are pressed together inside and out, and when the lower part of the pot is formed, additional spirals are added and pressed together. The procedure is continued to the upper edge of the pot or the neck of the jug, the spiral rolls still being recognizable. When it is finished thus far, [154] the pot is dipped in water and smoothed out with a piece of gourd until the rolls disappear. The upper edges are worked over with special care. They are carefully smoothed with a wet leaf (Acanthus arboreus) while the pot is rotated on the sherd. The ornamentation is also added while the pot is rotated, though much more slowly. A cylinder of plaited grass is rolled against the sides of the pot to make the primitive [531] decorations. Geometrical designs are also applied.

The pots made in this way are allowed to dry for a few days and are then fired. It is said that they are fired in the pits used to warm the unripe, unfermented beer. Pots are also fired in the open where they are stacked in pyramids, packed with firewood and grass on the sides and banana stalks on top, and thus fired. The high moisture content of the banana stalks slows the burning of the wood and prolongs the entire process, which should help to keep the pots from cracking. Nevertheless, there is always a considerable residue of useless pots.

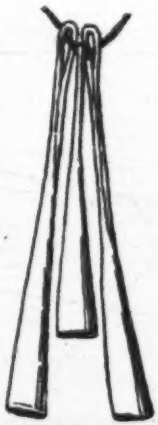
To increase the quality of the goods, it is said that crushed sherds are added to the clay.

Potters are found on every hill. In Kissaka where there are no markets, they work only to supply the needs of the immediate vicinity.

[832] A secondary branch of pottery is the manufacture of pipes and "little love pots," tiny vessels in which the women carry their amulets which are said to guarantee them the love of their husbands. These objects are made of kneaded clay and hollowed out with special small spatulas. These two classes of objects, if [531] they are decorated at all, primarily have only linear geometrical ornamentation.

291 554 Otherwise head adornment in Ruanda consists merely of a strip of skin or a string of beads.

291 In the matter of head ornament there is one important difference between the Bahutu and the Batutsi, although it is not consistently carried out. The Batutsi push their headgear over the forehead to the eyebrows, whereas the Bahutu push it up to the hairline and down over the back of the head.



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Besides head ornaments they wear numerous amulet containers of antelope horns, wild boars' tusks, etc. In Mulera one often sees, in addition, long, thin cone-shaped pendants of iron with eyelets at the tip by which they are suspended from the back of the headband. It is said that a man has the right to wear one of these ornaments for each enemy he has slain.

291 Fig. 62. Badges for Bravery, Mulera. (Approximately actual size.)

Nursing mothers wear a head ornament known as lugori. It consists of a band three to four centimeters wide made of corn straw. The band [175] is sewn together to form a crown. Decorations are sewn on the edge. In Maranyara I also saw a Mutwa woman wearing a lugori of corn straw.

●[531]

413 Fig. 63. Head Ornament Worn by Mother, Mulera. (1/4 actual size. L 14944. L 14944. 18 centimeters in diameter.)

With the other ornaments we must also mention the comb (rusokozo), although in Ruanda, in contrast to the regions to the west, it is not worn in the hair but is used only to comb the hair.

413 531 322 Combs are carved from one piece of wood in Ruanda and have three to eight teeth. As a rule, the teeth form the base of a triangle, the point of which is a pierced knob. Sometimes the comb

is rectangular in outline and has an elongated handle. The combs, as I observed, are almost always very crudely carved and decorated. On the other hand, Dr. Kandt (1) says of the combs of the Bahunde territory: "I frequently saw combs worn on a string, with three to six teeth, some with very pretty wood carvings. I also saw pins to smooth the

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 444.

Fig. 64

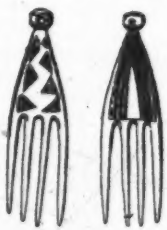

Fig. 65

Fig. 66

Fig. 67

Fig. 64. Comb from Mulera. (1/4 actual size. III E 13035. 27 1/2 centimeters long.)

Fig. 65. Front and Back of Comb from Mulera. (1/4 actual size. III E 13700. 14 1/2 centimeters long.)

Fig. 66. Comb from Nduga. (1/4 actual size. III E 13036. 21 1/2 centimeters long.)

Fig. 67. Comb from Mulera. (1/4 actual size. III E 13697. 15 1/2 centimeters long.)

hair, made of wood, horn, bone, and other material. These were usually stuck into their curly hair."

The hairpins which Dr. Kandt collected west of Kivu deserve special attention, for they are identical with the hairpins of the Momvu.

The shoe of the spear is very seldom lacking. Its form is that of a sharply-pointed cone into which is wedged the end of the spear shaft.

We mentioned above that the spear is a part of a man's adornment. Nevertheless, it is still a very dangerous weapon, and they know how to use it up to a distance of 20 meters. At this distance I saw a banana stalk, 15 centimeters in diameter and as tall as a man, hit two out of every three times. The force of the blow was so great that the spears pierced the stalk and protruded 20 centimeters on the other side. The spears that had missed the target penetrated 10 centimeters into the solidly trampled path and stuck fast, even at an angle of less than 45 degrees.

Even though the spear in Ruanda is used as a missile, only one spear is carried. According to Dr. Kandt (1), however, the Banyabungu in

1. Kandt, R. Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 378.

the south usually carry two spears with wide blades.

Wooden spears are used in Ruanda only

Fig. 99. Women's Canes from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. III E 13779 and III E 13789. 143 and 150 centimeters long.)

Fig. 100. Spear Holder, Ruanda. (1/6 actual size. III E 10070. 23 centimeters in diameter.)

6: Czekanowski--95 E-5 (1907-1909)1917 FO42 Rundi FO42

Fig. 116. Quiver for Arrows, Ruanda. (1/8 actual size. III E 13074. 84 1/2 centimeters long.)

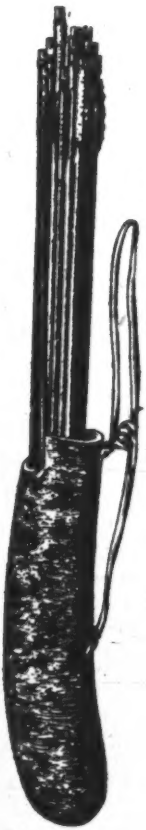

Fig. 117. Gourd Quiver, Ruanda. (1/8 actual size. L 17270a. 39 centimeters long.)

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Fig. 118. Woven Bag Quiver from Mulera. (1/8 actual size. III E 13764. 70 centimeters long.)

6: Czekanowski--97 E-5 (1907-1909)1917 FO42 Rundi FO42

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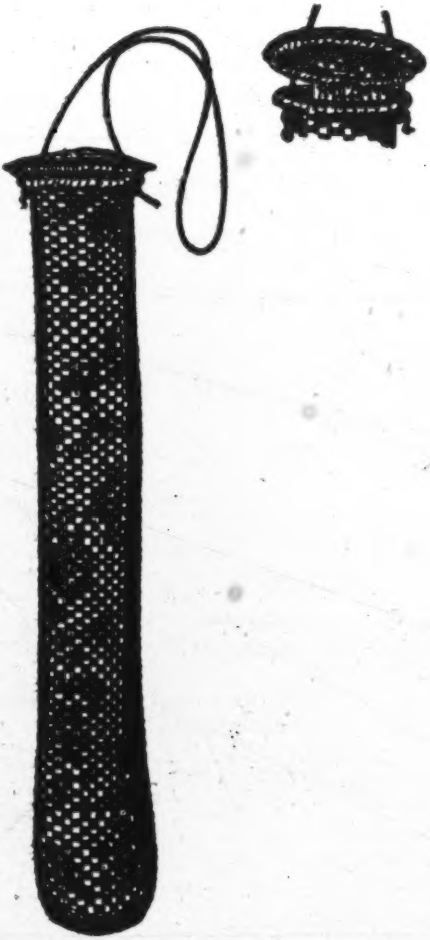

Fig. 119. Woven Cylindrical Quiver from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. L17270b. 76 centimeters long.)

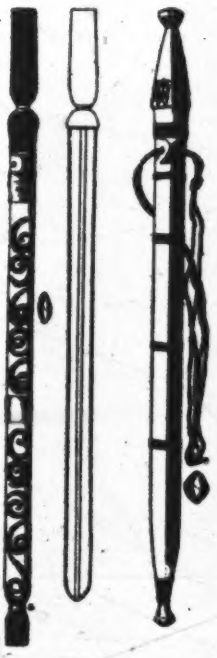

Fig. 120. Swords from Ruanda. (1/6 actual size. III E13071 and III E 13072. About 63 centimeters long.)

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Fig. 123. Typical Ruanda Shield. (1/6 actual size. III E13761. 68 centimeters high.)

Fig. 121. Dagger from Ruanda. (1/3 actual size. III 13736. 19 centimeters long.)

Fig. 122. Ruanda Club. (1/8 actual size. III E6879. 95 1/2 centimeters long.)

411 I was repeatedly told that the sword was a Batutsi weapon, but it is doubtful that the present form of the haft and the scabbard with all their details can be credited to the Batutsi. We must not forget that swords are also used by the Batwa and occur in the countries west of Ruanda, especially in the primeval forest.

[196] The sword plays an important part in religious ceremonies. It is used, for example, at birth festivities.

Clubs are found in Ruanda, but they are not very important. It seems that they are used more by the herdsmen than by the rest of the population. Simple smooth clubs are also said to be badges of distinction. Occasionally I saw a club, the end of which was decorated with four brass nails. The thick end is often faceted.

[197] Shields. Shields are very rare in Ruanda proper and in Kissaka. They consist of a slightly concave oval piece of wood with a protruding portion in the center. Behind the protruding part a braided strap-handle is tied to the shield. The [531] shield is painted black, white, and red. It is carved out of one piece of wood and is 40 to 50 centimeters high, 20 to 30 centimeters wide, and 10 to 20 centimeters deep.

The shield is common in Mulera. Here it has the Ndorwa shape, although it is usually not so wide. These shields are covered in front with rattan and are not painted. Thus they are essentially similar to the Uganda shield.

Of the shields west of Lake Kivu Dr. Kandt (1) says: "...as

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), pp. 442, 443.

in the east (Ruanda), they are oval or rectangular with rounded [285] corners, made of wood which in front is covered with wicker running horizontally or diagonally. [198] It is very popular to put bits of mica between the wicker strands. In the center of the outside is the navel, that is to say, a bulge, which in Ruanda is pointed, in the west usually flat. The Wahunde also had other shields that were carried by the chiefs. They are very tall and [285] wide, rectangular, painted red, bordered with strips of skin, and very skilfully woven of reeds, therefore very elastic. On the

6: Czekanowski--115 E-5 (1907-1909) 1917 FO42 Rundi FO42

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Fig. 134. Stick Basket from Ruanda. (1/6 actual size. III E10032. 48 centimeters in diameter.)

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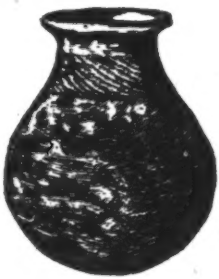

Fig. 135. Cooking Pot from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. L15172.)

Fig. 136. Water Jug from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. L15264.)

Fig. 137. Water Jug from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. L14755.)

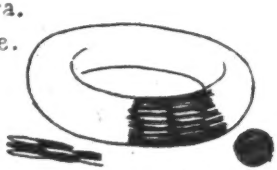

Fig. 138. Supporting Ring from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. III E 13726. 23 centimeters in diameter.)

6: Czekanowski--119 F-5 (1907-1909) 1917 FO42 Rundi FO42

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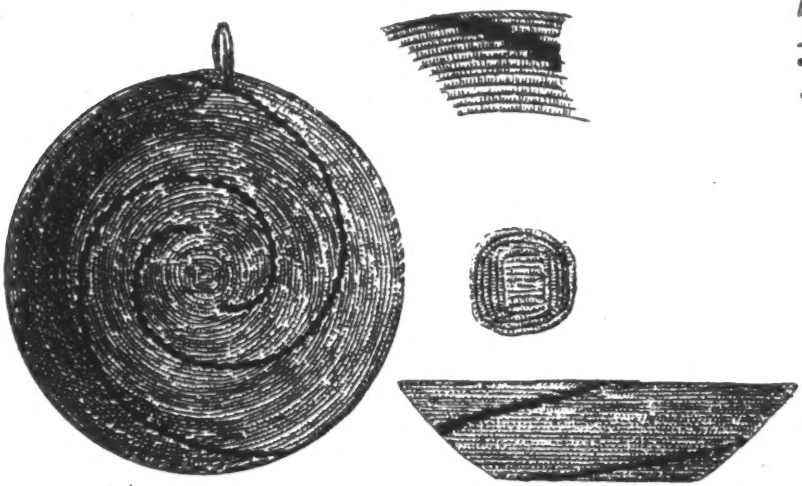

Fig. 144. Basket for Serving Food from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. III E 13670. 38 centimeters in diameter.)

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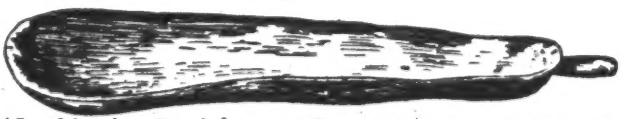

Fig. 145. Wooden Bowl from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. L15094.)

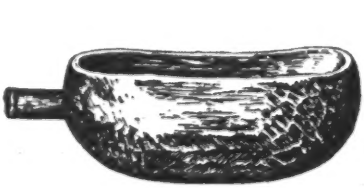

Fig. 146. Wooden Bowl from Mulera. (1/4 actual size. L1561.)

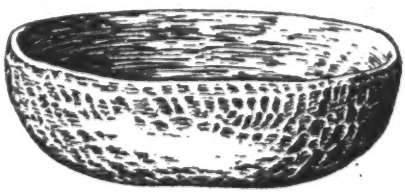

Fig. 147. Wooden Bowl from Mulera. (1/4 actual size. L15156.)

6: Czekanowski--120 E-5 (1907-1909)1917 FO42 Rundi FO42

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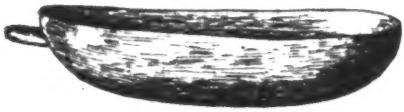

Fig. 148.

Fig. 149.

Fig. 150.

Fig. 151.

[531]

Fig. 152.

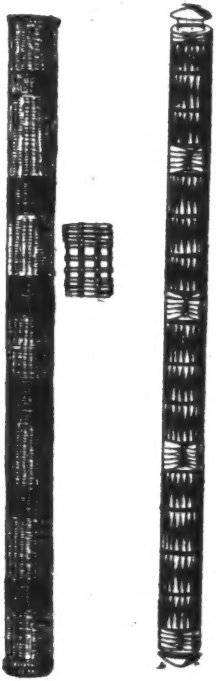

Fig. 153.

Fig. 154

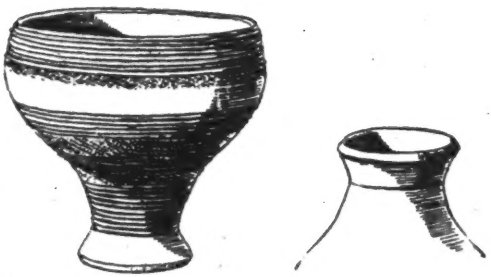

Fig. 155.

(Captions on following page.)

Captions for Figures on Preceding Page

415 Fig. 148. Wooden Bowl from Mulera. (1/4 actual size. L15160.)

Fig. 149. Twin Bowls from Ruanda. (1/6 actual size. III 9976. 37 centimeters long.)

Fig. 150. Twin Bowls from Ruanda. (1/6 actual size. III9977. 49 centimeters long.)

Fig. 151. Drinking Bowl from Mulera. (1/4 actual size. III E 13097. 20 centimeters in diameter.)

Fig. 152. Beer Gourd from Ruanda. (1/4 actual size. III E 13045. 17 centimeters high.)

Fig. 153. Woven Drinking-Straw Container from Ruanda. (1/6 actual size. III E 10060. 65 centimeters long.)

[531] Fig. 154. Carved Drinking-Straw Container from Ruanda. (1/3 actual size. III E13048. 32 centimeters long.)

Fig. 155. Clay Funnel of the Batwa. (1/4 actual size. IIIE6628. 16 centimeters high.)

6: Czekanowski--122 F-5 (1907-1909)1917 FO42 Rundi FO42

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Fig. 158

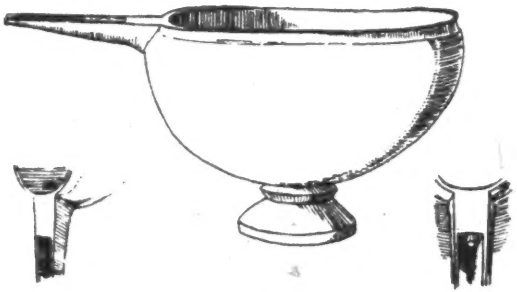


Fig. 156.

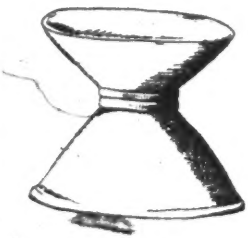
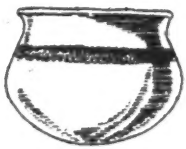


Fig. 159.



[531]

Fig. 157.

Fig. 156. Pouring Vessel from Ruanda. (1/4 actual size. III9983. 14 1/2 centimeters high.)

Fig. 157. Clay Butter Dish, Ruanda. (1/4 actual size. IIIE9995, IIIE9992. 10 1/2 and 10 centimeters in diameter.)

Fig. 158. Wooden Butter Dish. (1/4 actual size. IIIE9971. 13 centimeters in diameter.)

Fig. 159. Wooden Stool from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. III E13745. 22 centimeters high.)

[329] Chapter 16

Decoration and Play

[53] Decoration. We have mentioned a few widespread patterns of ornamentation in our discussion of shaving and tattooing patterns. We illustrated a number of them on baskets, mats, quivers, spear holders, rings to be put under vessels, knife sheaths, and scabbards. The data will now be supplemented and summarized.

Ruanda ornamentation is purely geometrical and chiefly rectilinear, lines being used mainly to outline the larger, monochrome fields. Sometimes, however, entire fields are uniformly decorated with parallel lines, which may also form squares. Curved lines are used, but they are rare. They are sometimes found on knife sheaths. It is only in the painting of shields and in shaving and tattooing patterns that they are used exclusively.

In Kissaka I also saw partitions in the Bahutu huts painted in this manner.

Ruanda ornamentation is very simple, without variety in form or color. The forms are usually combinations of triangles and straight lines. Coloration is usually restricted to a contrast between black and white. Quite rarely red is added and then only on shields, room partitions, and small, woven luxury articles. Other colors are merely various shades of white. Pure white cannot be obtained because of the nature of the materials to be decorated (mats, wood); black decorations are painted on them.

In view of the simplicity of Ruanda ornamentation, we can easily classify it. The chief elements have already been described and named by Dr. Kandt (1). We shall list them herewith: amatana,

1. Kandt, R., "Gewerbe in Ruanda [Industry in Ruanda]," Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, 1904, p. 343.

"quiver"; ngabo, "shield"; masaka, "millet"; amakota, "knife, arrowhead"; [330] mushongole, "friendly person"; uduhuda, "spear ferrule," "swallow's wing," "large swallow's wing";

53 ikirizo, "large tail"; imiambi, "arrows." The last three may be regarded as composite forms. The pentagon is in a very special class. It is quite isolated. All these elements are rectilinear. Curved lines appear as segments, crescents, spirals, and circles. Large circles are called imikako, "upper arm ring," while small circles are called imirindi, "wrist ring."

The triangle is the principal element of Ruanda ornamentation. It is called "quiver" (amatana) and is most frequently found on the quivers where they are placed in rows forming wide bands. A band of tiny triangles on quivers is called imirindi, "arm ring."

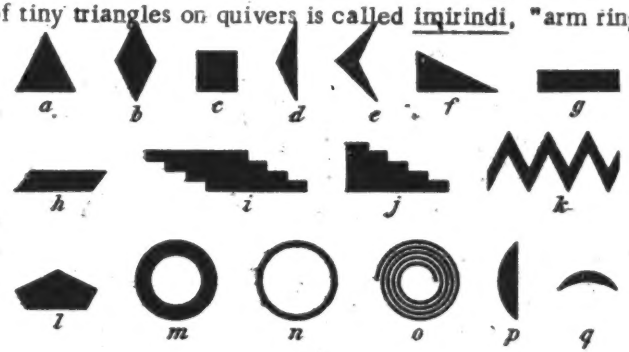


Fig. 179. Elements of Ruanda Ornamentation: (a) amatana, quiver; (b) ngabo, shield; (c) masaka, millet; (d) amakota, knife; (e) arrowheads; (f) mushongole, polite person; (g) uduhuda, spear ferrule; (h) swallow's wing; (i) large swallow's wing; (j) ikirizo, large tail; (k) imiambi, arrows' (1) pentagon; (m) imikako, upper arm ring; (n) imirindi, (o) spirals; (p) segment; (q) crescent.

Sometimes the amatana cover large areas.

Rhomboids, formed by placing the bases of two triangles together, are, as we have said, called ngabo, "shield." They are also seen on quivers and, like the amatana decoration, are usually in the form of bands and less often placed longitudinally.

The row of squares must be regarded as the next variation in this series. It occurs when rhomboids are flattened, becoming squares. This motif is called imikako, "string of beads," although the individual square is called masaka, "millet." A rare variation of the same motif is the longitudinal rhomboid. Horizontal

●53| rhomboids produce the motif known as amasaro, "string."

When the triangles meet at their tips, forming hourglass figures, the knife pattern (amakota) is produced. [331] These figures are often used in columns on the soft shield mats, separated from one another at irregular intervals. Rarely, the hourglass figures are used in horizontal patterns.

The arrowhead motif is sometimes used in plant-like configurations, but these forms are relatively rare.

The mushongole motif is usually combined in perpendicular symmetrical or alternating columns, with the individual elements joined together or separate.

The uduhuda, the spear ferrule element, is usually arranged in free rows, one element above the other, forming unenclosed columns or sometimes step-like rows.

The swallow wing motif is arranged in oblique and horizontal bands. The former seem to be the original ones; the variations appearing in horizontal bands are far removed from the original pattern of homogeneous elements, for example, perpendicular elements have been introduced. However, even in the "large swallow wing ornament," besides the simple form there is a more complicated one with intermediate elements.

The ikirizo motif is combined for ornamentation in much the same way as the above-mentioned mushongole motif, but with the difference that the parts can be placed diagonally as well as perpendicularly.

The arrow motif (imiambi) is used in rows, one above the other, to cover large areas. Often there are only a few rows, placed horizontally or diagonally.

Besides the arrow motif, the quiver motif (amatana) is used to cover large surfaces, as are the shield motif (ngabo), the millet motif (masaka), and the spear ferrule motif (uduhuda). In the last motif, elements of various sizes are combined.

Pentagons are very seldom used in Ruanda ornamentation. I recall having seen them only once (III E 13644). In this case the longitudinal pentagons were placed next to each other.

However, more complicated forms are achieved in Ruanda ornamentation by a combination of two or three motifs.

631 The simplest composite forms occur when decorative elements, such as amatana or ikirizo, are arranged along a diagonal edge. Equally simple in its construction is the muhiga pattern made up of a combination of long and narrow elements with short and wide swallow wing motifs. The ornamentation combining uduhuda and mushongole motifs is not any more complicated, whereas that made of a combination of uduhuda and incomplete swallow wing motifs is somewhat strange

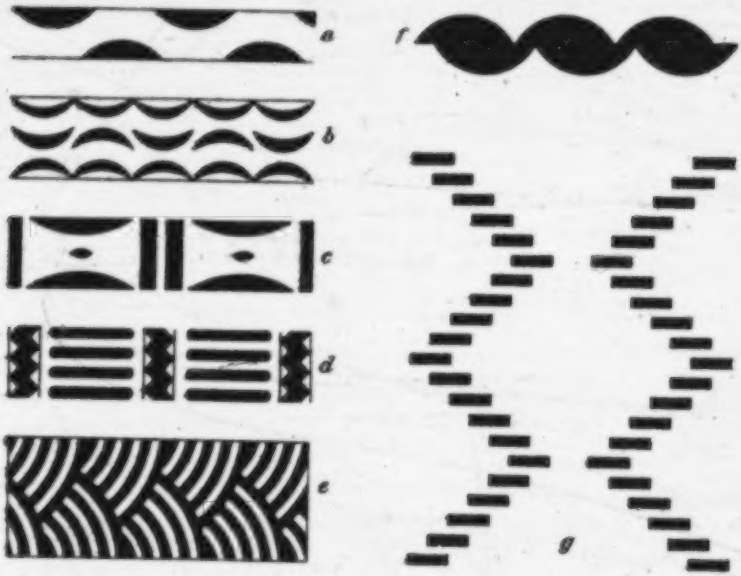


Fig. 180. Ruanda Ornamentation: (a), (b), (c), (d) patterns for knife sheaths; (e) pattern for shield mats; (f) pattern for little love pots; (g) amagwe, leopard, pattern for mats.

looking. [332] Not infrequently we also find swallow wing motifs enclosed in horizontal bands (imirindi) and a diagonal band of ngabo with several lines of imiambi running parallel to the sides of the triangles.

More complicated forms are usually obtained by repetitions of two motifs. On knife sheaths we often find a combination of uduhuda and imirariko.

531 Circles or spirals are used only on round objects and especially on the bottoms of baskets made by sewing together spirals of straw, on plates, and lids. This shows that the above-mentioned rectilinear forms are simply modified to conform to the material.

Large numbers of unjoined segments and crescents are placed in rows on knife sheaths. They are sometimes also combined with uduhudu or imiambi which separate the individual segments of the ornamentation from each other. On small clay vessels, however, they often flow together to make large units, and on the shield mats we can also see fragments of the three-strand weave.

We may regard the simplicity of Ruanda ornamentation as the result of an adjustment to the material, chiefly the basket sewn together in spiral coils, which is the principal article ornamented. It is not [333] impossible that we have here a secondary simplification dictated by the technique of ornamentation, which consists chiefly of black banana sheaths wound around the coils. The names of the decorative elements lead us to assume that in the past there were probably attempts at realistic portrayal. In support of this view we could point to the amagwe decoration which often appears on the mats. Amagwe means "leopard," and in the drawing we can see a stylization of a four-legged, spotted creature.

535 The Dance. During the festitivies which Musinga arranged in honor of His Highness Duke Adolf Friedrich of Mecklenburg, I had an opportunity to see several very different types of dances (kwamiriza). They were performed in such rapid succession that I was unable to grasp the fundamental differences, hence I must limit myself chiefly to listing them by name.

The first four dances were performed by the danga baganisi, the chosen ones of the king. The first was called imbunduza, the second, rukatsa; the third, tubagendane; and the fourth, kuboko.

The second dance troupe was made up of inkwaya za Kabure. They danced the muganguza, each with an arrow in his hand. The dance is shown on Plate 18 of Volume III.

The third group of dancers were Kanuma's ntore from Kissaka. They danced kuhyereka rushara and a crane dance (1). The small

6: Czekanowski--276 E-5 (1907-1909) 1917 FO42 Rundi FO42

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Plate I

Photolithogr. Julius Klinkhardt, Leipzig.

6: Czekanowski--277 E-5 (1907-1909)1917 FO42 Rundi FO42

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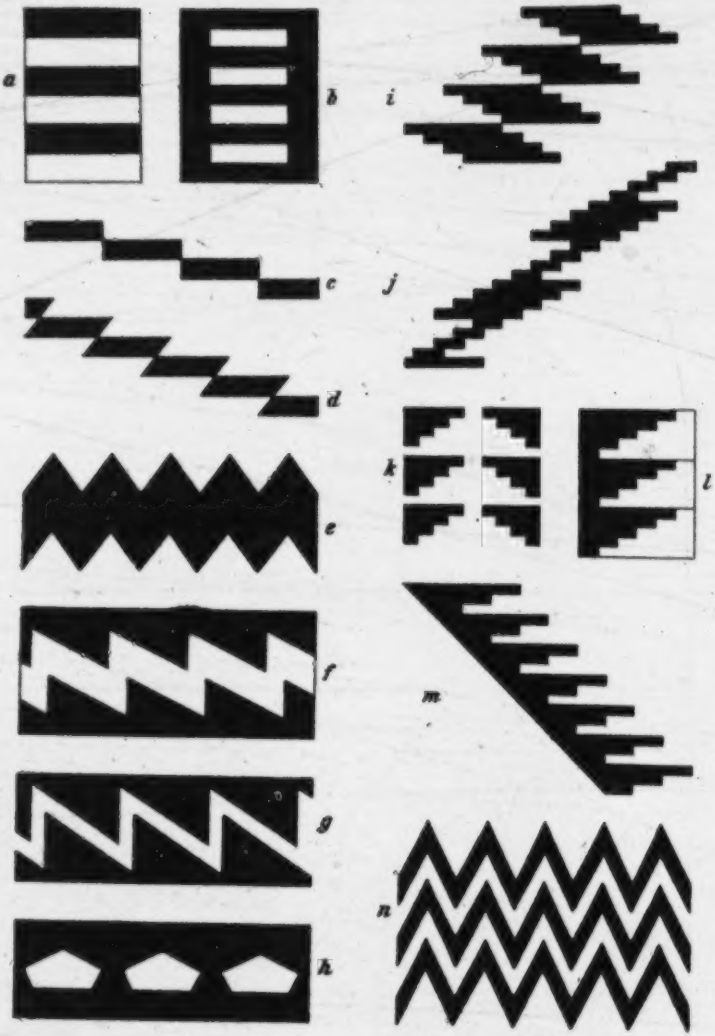

Photolithogr. Julius Klinkhardt, Leipzig.

6: Czekanowski--278 E-5 (1907-1909)1917 FO42 Rundi FO42

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Plate III

Photolithogr. Julius Klinkhardt, Leipzig.

6: Czekanowski--279 E-5 (1907-1909)1917 FO42 Rundi FO42

Plate IV

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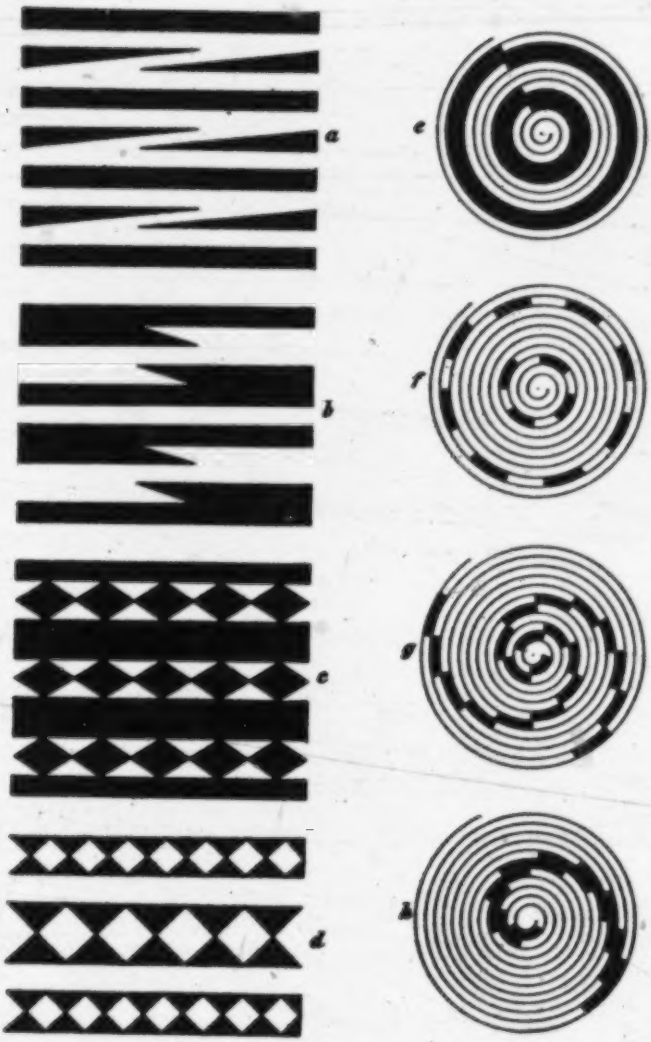

Photolithogr. Julius Klinkhardt, Leipzig.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

PLATE 4

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The queen-mother, Radegonde Nyiramavugo

[Facing P. 119]

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

it is certain that there were (and still are) Tutsi and Hutu physical stereotypes socially recognized. Such characteristics regarded as significant were, for the Tutsi, to be slender, tall, and light skinned; for the Hutu, to be short and stout with coarse features. To conform to one of these types was not sufficient to make of a man a Tutsi or a Hutu. Indeed there were some Tutsi and Hutu who did not possess the physical characteristics of their caste.

Sociological and psychological studies devoted to racial problems, and particularly to anti-semitism, have stressed the importance of the physical stereotypes of groups. It is immaterial whether the stereotypes are verified in the majority of cases, or only quite rarely. What *is* important is that they provide a basis on which many moral, psychological, and occupational characteristics are crystallized and form a simple picture. This picture, haunting the imagination of those it is supposed to represent as well as of the others, makes everyone extremely conscious of his group participation and of the differences that separate his group from the others.

The fact that a group is characterized by a physical type differentiating it from the others is a factor which may act both ways from the standpoint of social and political power. A minority endowed with a stereotyped physical appearance will have a very great social visibility. If that minority is at the bottom of the hierarchy, its members are constantly despised, and develop attitudes characteristic of those who are looked down on by those with whom they have to live. Consequently, they are hopelessly confined to their group and enjoy almost no opportunity to increase their power. This was the case of the Twa. Their physical stereotype stressed all the features which could be interpreted as ape-like.

If, on the contrary, that physically stereotyped minority is at the top of the power structure, it avails itself of its appearance, regarded as 'beautiful', to support its claims to an innate superiority. Consequently, it is an asset to its power.

Tutsi have been able to use the three different stereotypes of the physical characteristics of the Ruanda castes as a confirmation of their superiority: they have convinced all Ruanda that to be slender and light skinned is much better than to be stout and dark (this was even aesthetically translated in the patterns used in the ornamentations of baskets: they manifested a preference for elongated slim forms). They used the stereotypes also as a proof